

THE
C R I S I S:
OR, A
Defence of Adminiftration
AGAINST THE
IMAGINARY VICTORY
AND
ILL-GROUNDED TRIUMPH
OF
O P P O S I T I O N.

INSCRIBED TO THE
PEOPLE of Great-Britain and Ireland.

THE SECOND EDITION.

There are some Things that we should explain; some that we should
refute; and others at which we should heartily laugh for their Absurdity
and the Folly of their Adherents. VOLTAIRE.

L O N D O N:
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TO HIS GRACE
H U G H P E R C Y,
Duke and Earl of NORTHUMBERLAND,
Knight of the Most Noble Order of the GARTER,
AND
One of His MAJESTY'S Most Honorable
PRIVY COUNCIL in *Great Britain and Ireland*,
&c. &c. &c.

Fiat Justitia ruat Cælum.

VIRGIL.

MY LORD DUKE!

I N looking, with profound Respect, upon the List of illustrious Characters of the eighteenth Century, distinguished for the noblest Sentiments, and for a Conduct, through Life, that does Honor to human Nature, I find the first Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND placed conspicuously for public Admiration. I am happy to see

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Your

Your Grace so forward on the List of the most eminent Characters, and happier still to say, without Fear of Contradiction, that Your private and public Virtues do Honor to the State and Age in which You live.

Convinced, from the Testimony of Mankind in general, and from my particular Knowledge of near twenty Years, that Your Grace's Character is justly distinguished for a sincere Love to your Country in particular, and Regard to Mankind in general, and by a remarkable Consistency in the Path of Honor and public Virtue, I presume, with great Humility, to submit to your Consideration “ *A Defence of the present able and upright Administrations of Great Britain and Ireland, against the imaginary Victory and ill-grounded Triumph of Opposition in both Countries;*” occasioned by a recent Event in Ireland, the most extraordinary
in

in its Nature, and alarming in its Tendency, that, perhaps, ever happened to that sensible, liberal and spirited Nation; for which I know Your Grace has long had the highest Respect, and to whose Prosperity You have ever been a most sincere and noble Friend.

The universal Satisfaction given by Your Grace's glorious and never to be forgotten Administration,—the Purity of Your Sentiments,—the Liberality of Your Principles of Government,—and the happy Tendency of all Your Measures (like the Overflowing of the NILE, that enriches and fertilizes the Land) will render the illustrious NORTHUMBERLAND ever dear to the Irish; who, I take a Pleasure in confessing, have long had the Reputation of being a very liberal and grateful People.

The singular Pleasure which Your Grace, to my Knowledge, has shewn upon every

Occasion that has offered to promote the true Prosperity and permanent Happiness of Ireland, has made You very tenacious of every Thing that regarded Your favorite Kingdom: With the sincerest Affection, and the noblest Sentiments of Liberality and sound Policy, Your Grace has always discovered a generous Zeal to promote every Good, and to prevent every Thing of a contrary Tendency, that concerned Ireland. Judging affectionately and liberally, you have judged right and nobly. Avoiding carefully every Circumstance that could create Jealousy, or be misunderstood, You have sincerely wished and liberally endeavored to shew to Great Britain and Ireland the sound Policy of being inseparably united; not *legislatively* (which occasions endless Dissatisfactions and corroding Jealousies, the Bane of public Felicity) but *commercially*, on a great Scale of RECIPROCITY, making it equally the Interest of two neighboring and insular Nations to

to be bound to each other by sharing the great Blessings of Navigation and Protection, and pursuing, as ONE great Cause, their mutual commercial and political Interests. This has ever been the Line of Your Grace's Conduct towards Ireland, and this is the only reciprocal Principle that should bind the two Nations, and promote their Prosperity and Affections!

In 1779, when the Independence of Ireland was strongly opposed by some Men, Your Grace shewed the most liberal Sentiments in Favor of that Nation privately; and in Your public or legislative Capacity, You promoted every Measure that appeared conducive to the Emancipation and Happiness of the People of Ireland. From such liberal Sentiments and generous Exertions the Independence of Ireland was subsequently acknowledged, and a noble Foundation laid to raise the Irish from Sub-
jection

jection and Poverty to Liberty, Wealth and Rank among Nations.

When a *Free Trade* was the Subject of public Consideration, Your Grace, with Your usual Prepossession in Favor of Ireland, discovered the noblest Sentiments and the soundest Policy, by admitting an important Truth to every independent State, that “ a Freedom of Legislature “ implied,” like Cause and Effect, “ a “ Freedom of Commerce,” and that RECIPROCITY of Interest and Affection was the strongest Bond of Friendship between Nations.

With the purest Principles and with Sentiments so liberal and politic, which bind Ireland with the filken Cords of Affection, Your Grace is the fittest PATRON for whatever tends to so desirable and so glorious a Purpose, as that of uniting
Great

Great Britain and Ireland, and strengthening their UNION, not by legislative Sacrifices on the Part of that Kingdom, but by reciprocal commercial Advantages and political Convenience.

I have therefore the Honor to offer to Your Grace's Consideration a few Words in Defence of an Administration of distinguished Merit, which I presume to think contain Principles founded in Truth, in Justice and sound Policy; and such as do Honor to the distinguished Abilities and Patriotism of His Majesty's Ministers.

My Lord Duke! In defending the *Executive* Power (a Power so necessary to the Purposes of the *Legislative* Authority) I step in between the People and the greatest Instance of national Delusion and Infatuation I ever heard of; to shew them the Error into which they are *hurried* by the Passions of designing Men, and the Folly
of

of their precipitate and unpatriotic Conduct. I write from the purest Motives and with the most liberal Design, to convince the People at large of their Error, and to bring back their good Humor and Confidence in so liberal a Friend and Neighbor as Great Britain.

The Case between Great Britain and Ireland, though simple in itself and easily understood, has produced a most extraordinary Event, and such indeed as could never have been expected from the good Sense, the Spirit and Liberality of the Irish Nation. I dwell much, and with Pleasure, on their great national Qualities, because I know your Grace's Affection for them.

In 1779 the People of Ireland, tired of the Supremacy of Great Britain, contended for Emancipation, and that was in 1782, with great Liberality, granted; not from the Terror of Men *in Arms*, or from the

Con-

Conviction of the Right of a *conquered* Nation to be independent, but from Motives of Liberality, Affection and sound Policy. Not content with a free Legislature, they required also a *free Trade*, which was likewise, in a great Measure, granted, as the necessary Consequence of Independence.

The English having totally relinquished the Control which they had so long and so injudiciously exercised over the Legislature of Ireland, and granted great Indulgences of Trade, the Situation of the Irish Nation became greatly changed, by the People possessing an independent Parliament and an improved Trade. And the present spirited and patriotic Administration, wishing to complete *commercially* what was happily begun in Favor of Ireland, they, with great Virtue and infinite Wisdom, offered to the People of Ireland a System of Commerce, founded on *Reciprocity*; that is,

b
such

such a Plan as is founded on their *mutual* Interests, and as shall, necessarily, as an inevitable Consequence, operate to their *reciprocal* Advantage and Prosperity.

Nothing could be greater than the Idea of such a commercial UNION between two neighboring and insular Nations ; nothing more fortunate for Ireland, that stands so much in Need of Commerce and Protection : And as nothing could be more liberal than a Principle of Reciprocity, that shares the great Blessings of Commerce and Protection with a vast trading and maritime Nation, so nothing could be more desirable than the Execution of such a System, to unite Great Britain and Ireland for ever in Bonds of indissoluble Friendship.

As the Irish are totally free *legislatively*, it became sound Policy to unite them *commercially*, to keep them for ever out of the Scale of France. The Design, whether we
consider

consider the Liberality of the Principle, or the sound Policy, as it happily operates to bind both Nations by reciprocal Advantages, is truly great, and does infinite Honor to Mr. Pitt's Administration.

But, notwithstanding the excellent Principle and the happy Tendency of such a commercial System between Great Britain and Ireland, it has been defeated, or at least *suspended*, in a most extraordinary Manner. Whether so great a Design, to unite Great Britain and Ireland *commercially*, and to keep the latter in the Scale of England out of the Interest of France (to which America is unhappily sacrificed) is owing to *foreign* Influence, or to the Intrigues of *domestic* Foes in both Kingdoms, or to the united Endeavors of domestic Opposition and foreign Influence, I do not pretend to say; but certain it is, that some very extraordinary Methods have been taken to put the Irish out of Humor with a glorious

rious System of Commerce for them, and to make them oppose, with the greatest Violence, the purest and noblest Attempt to render them happy, great and flourishing by *Commerce*; as if it was a treacherous Design, under Color of commercial Benefits, to *resume* the *Supremacy*, which the English have so lately and so liberally relinquished! An Idea that is extremely illiberal and improbable, from the Character of the British Nation; and which is indeed impossible, from the strongest *Confirmation* of Independence in the very Act that occasions the Jealousy.

Although it discovers great Weakness to suspect Duplicity and Treachery in a liberal Friend, and great Illiberality to suppose that the English, who have so lately and so fully acknowledged and *confirmed* the Independence of Ireland, could have the most distant Idea of RESUMPTION to *subvert the Legislature* they have so chearfully emancipated;

pated; yet such have been the ungovernable Passions of some Men, and the great Arts of domestic and foreign Enemies, that the Irish have been possessed of the strongest Jealousy of their legislative Rights, and, from such a strange and ill-grounded Apprehension, they have, in the Hour of Infatuation and Folly, rejected with Scorn and Exultation, bordering on Fanaticism, a commercial System as a legislative Snare, tending to subvert their Legislature instead of extending their Commerce.

Mr. Secretary ORDE, with great Penetration and Address, has, however, saved Great Britain from some Part of the Indignity, and Ireland from great Part of the Shame, which their preposterous and extravagant Conduct has occasioned, by promoting a *Delay* (to save the commercial System from a total Rejection, without the Candor of the least Consideration) in order that Time may convince the deluded
 People

People of the egregious Error into which they have been betrayed by *Party*, and that, when Reason returns and prevails over Passions and Prejudices, a Foundation may be laid for a System of Commerce and Friendship, totally divested of such legislative Considerations as tend to create Jealousy, and to destroy the great Confidence that should happily subsist between the two independent and neighboring Nations.

The Conduct of Mr. ORDE has infinite Merit, and too much Praise cannot be given to the Right Honorable Secretary, for his Temper, Consistency and manly Conduct throughout; but more particularly in this Instance of shrewd Policy, which tends to prevent the Separation of the two Kingdoms, and to bring them back to their old good Humor and to an affectionate UNION, which is absolutely necessary to both Nations.

My

My Lord Duke! You know I am a constitutional and disinterested Writer, unconnected with Statesmen and unknown to Ministers. I am the Friend of Truth and public Virtue, and, consequently, an Enemy to national Delusion and Infatuation, from whatever Motive it arises. Inspired by Your Grace's liberal Sentiments in Favor of Ireland, and animated by the noblest Examples of public Virtue, I step in, upon the present Occasion, between public Virtue and national Infatuation—between the upright and glorious Intentions of a virtuous and able Administration, and the Party-Prejudices and Misrepresentation of false Patriots in both Countries, who (like Incendiaries, eager for the Spoil) have led the People of Ireland into a dangerous Error, that discovers greater Precipitation and Folly than I could have thought the People of Ireland capable of, from the high Opinion Your Grace has long had of their Understanding and public Virtue.

In

In taking the Side of Administration, I do not mean, as I have said, to be a Party-Writer; but to state the Case fairly, and, by appealing to the Understanding and not to the Passions of Mankind, to shew that there was great Virtue and infinite Wisdom in the Design of bringing forward, at this critical Period of domestic Treachery and foreign Seduction, a Commercial System between Great Britain and Ireland, and as much Folly and Injustice, in rejecting it with such unparalleled Precipitance and Indignity.

Although I am totally unknown to the present excellent Executive Power, I glory in being an Advocate for an Administration of such high Reputation, in a Case of infinite Merit, that will deserve the highest Respect, when the *Men* that have opposed it, and the *Motives* that occasioned it, will be totally forgotten.

To

To recapitulate: The Irish having so lately obtained legislative Emancipation from their liberal Neighbors, and not being quite satisfied about a free Trade, the Idea of a Commercial System, to share the great Advantage of Trade, Navigation and Protection *reciprocally*, before Ireland could throw her Weight into the Scale of our natural Enemies, was a great Stroke of Policy in His Majesty's Ministers; tending to the Commercial Interest and Prosperity of Ireland, and to the political Interest of Great Britain, by the UNION of two Nations commercially under the same Sovereign, but not the same Constitution or Legislature.

The Design does infinite Honor to Administration: It shews their great Abilities, and places their patriotic Principles in the strongest Light. The Principle of the Commercial System offered to Ireland is most excellent, because it is extremely liberal;

beral ; and the Tendency, or Operation, that *strengthens* their Alliance, or Union, by *increasing* their Prosperity, has, in the Language of Mr. Grattan, “ Immensity “ for its Space,” and is calculated to have “ Eternity for its Duration.”

Consider me, my Lord Duke, as I have always endeavored to appear, the *humble* Friend of Sacred Truth and Public Virtue. Inspired by Your generous Sentiments, and animated by Your Noble Example, I have endeavored to render a most essential Service to the People of Ireland, by shewing the extreme Absurdity of a Jealousy of their Legislative Rights, from the Power that has lately and liberally granted their Independence ; and the Folly of their opposing, with a Degree of Violence that borders on Madness, a great Commercial System, from a groundless Legislative Jealousy, for which there is not the Color of Reason or Probability.

In

In placing this Matter in a true Light, so little to the Credit of Opposition in Ireland and England, I am happy, my Lord Duke, in having an Opportunity to do Justice to the splendid Talents and patriotic Principles of Mr. PITT's Administration; which, I am confident, acts from the purest and most liberal Motives, to render Great Britain and Ireland, *equally*, happy, great, and flourishing.

The respectful Zeal and Attachment of near twenty Years, will, I trust, convince Your Grace of the sincere Devotion with which I have the Honor and the Ambition to be,

My LORD DUKE!

Your much obliged

And most obedient

Humble Servant,

VERIDICUS.

1842
The first of the year
was a very dry one
and the crops were
very poor. The
winter was also
very dry and the
crops were very
poor.

The second of the year
was a very wet one
and the crops were
very good. The
winter was also
very wet and the
crops were very
good.

The third of the year
was a very dry one
and the crops were
very poor. The
winter was also
very dry and the
crops were very
poor.

The fourth of the year
was a very wet one
and the crops were
very good. The
winter was also
very wet and the
crops were very
good.

The fifth of the year
was a very dry one
and the crops were
very poor. The
winter was also
very dry and the
crops were very
poor.

A
D E F E N C E
O F
ADMINISTRATION

AGAINST THE

Ill-grounded Triumph of OPPOSITION.

THE Propositions offered by the King and Parliament of Great Britain to the Parliament of Ireland, (from one Legislature to another, which is the clearest Proof of equal *Independence* and equal * *Supremacy*) has been attended with Effects that are not unnatural or alarming, but which, by being placed in a wrong Light by the Passions of designing Men, in both Countries, are viewed with Terror by some Men, and with Exultation by others.

* Should *equal Supremacy* exceed the Right of Ireland in the Judgment of some Men, it should be remembered that the *Sovereignty* is not as King of England, but as Sovereign of Ireland; not as the first Estate of the British but of the Irish Constitution; a Distinction which has never been adverted to, that should remove all the legislative Fears of Ireland.

It is the Design of this Letter to shew to the People of both Nations, whose Minds are open to Conviction, that Those who fear, and Those who rejoice, on this Occasion, are equally mistaken; for the *Cause* of Fear on this Side the Water, and of Exultation on that, is really a palpable Delusion, and a gross Imposition on the Understanding of the People of England and Ireland.

To shew this, in the clearest Light, beyond the Power of Contradiction, it is necessary to take a View of the Commercial System, from the Beginning to a late Event in Ireland, that the People may know the true Principle and Tendency of the Propositions, and be able to judge of the Rectitude and Merit of Mr. PITT's Administration.

The Independence granted by Great Britain to the Irish in 1782, by an Acknowledgement of their total Emancipation from the Legislature of this Nation, and possessing, as an independent State, a Constitution and Laws, or Legislature, of their own, rendered Ireland a Sovereign and *Foreign** Power, as effectually as

* *Foreign* and *Supremacy* are Words of great extent, which ought to be duly attended to as the great Objects of Ireland.

the emancipated Colonies; an Event truly glorious to Ireland, but, perhaps, not clearly understood by the People of England; who, attending to the Word *Independence*, as the Cause of national Liberty, do not sufficiently consider the extensive and important Effects, and that it implies the total Separation of two neighboring Kingdoms, which have long been united, and the Possibility of their being thrown into different political Interests. An Event of the greatest Consequence which the Wisdom of Mr. Pitt foresaw, and the Virtue of his Administration endeavored to prevent, for the Credit and Prosperity of both Nations, by making them equally interested, by *Reciprocity*, in their common Security and Welfare. An Idea truly great, founded on the purest Principle of Government, and in which Design there is infinite Virtue and Wisdom.

If this effectual Emancipation from the legislative Control of Great Britain was, in the Language of Mr. Grattan, a glorious Condition for the Irish, who had long felt, under impolitic Administrations, the unhappy Effects of Subjection, it was nothing more than a noble *Foundation* of Independence, on which to raise a glorious *Superstructure* to Liberty and to Fame. I say nothing more than a *Foundation*, and for the Truth I appeal to Mr. Grattan

Mr. PITT, on taking the Reins of Government in England, found the Kingdom of Ireland exactly in this Predicament. Inspired by the Reputation of his illustrious Father, and animated in the Cause of two free States, whose Interests, under one Sovereign, being the same he had equally at Heart:—This young, but upright and able Minister, with enthusiastic Zeal and the purest Motives, thus addressed the People of Ireland:

“ My Friends and Fellow-Subjects, (to the
 “ same Sovereign, but not to the same Parliament,
 “ our Legislatures being equally independent
 “ and supreme in our respective Nations) I am
 “ happy to find you in a State of Independence,
 “ but considering the early State of Liberty like
 “ a rough Jewel of inestimable Value that
 “ requires the Polish of an able Artist, give me
 “ Leave to enable *you* to raise a noble Super-
 “ structure upon so glorious a Foundation,
 “ through the Friendship and Assistance of
 “ Great Britain,

“ Attached to the Irish from Custom, Lan-
 “ guage, Religion, and the dearest Motives of
 “ Society, the People of Great Britain sincerely
 “ wish to strengthen that Attachment by a
 “ Bond of national Friendship with Ireland,
 “ founded

“ founded on reciprocal Advantages of Com-
 “ merce, that shall equally promote their
 “ Prosperity and render their *Union* indissoluble.”

This was the Language of Mr. PITT, and as it was the Language of a Heart that knows no Guile, so it was his Principle, which does so much Honor to the Liberality of the British Nation, and so much Credit to the Sentiments and sound Policy of her excellent Minister,

Such a Design, evidently founded on the purest Motives, is really great on the Part of the English Nation, and as glorious on that of Ireland; and at which every Breast in both Kingdoms must glow with Satisfaction; for the Principle is truly noble, and the Tendency (to the *Union* and Prosperity of two spirited Nations) great, beyond the Power of Expression,

Ireland having, through the Liberality of Great Britain, laid a Foundation for national Liberty, by her Emancipation and acknowledged Independence, England's voluntary Offer to assist her to raise a Superstructure of national Prosperity and Energy, by a Commercial System, or a Participation of the great Blessings of Commerce, upon Principles of Reciprocity, was an Offer of immense Value to an *impoverished*
 and

and *helpless* Nation, and such as warmed the Imagination of the People of Ireland, who are naturally liberal and grateful, and they waited with Impatience for the happy *Execution* of so great a *Design*, which was, as might be expected, the Admiration of Friends, and the Envy of domestic Foes and foreign Enemies to both Countries.

The Eyes of all Europe were open to so great a Design, as the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, not legislatively but by Reciprocity of Interest and national Prosperity and Security: While true Friends were impatient for the Execution of so glorious an Union, false Patriots and the worst Enemies to both Nations took every Method to defeat an Union of Interests (not of Legislatures) between Great Britain and Ireland, founded on reciprocal Advantages, and tending to promote equally the Prosperity, the Security, and Affection of two neighboring Kingdoms.

The Beginning of the Commercial System was contained in *Eleven* Resolutions of the Irish Parliament, which, having passed the Legislature of *that* Nation for the Consideration of *this*, did, undoubtedly, speak the Sense and tend to promote the Interest of the People of Ireland.

On

On their serious Consideration in England a natural Jealousy of the *Commercial Interest*, and a great Reluctance to *divide* such immense Advantages with Ireland, without an adequate Consideration, occasioned an Alteration of the Irish Resolutions, which encreased the Propositions to *Twenty*: And, in order to satisfy the English for the Sacrifice of their Commerce, (who were extremely tenacious of their *exclusive Rights*) a Condition was annexed, that Ireland, for such great Advantages, should grant certain equitable (not legislative) Considerations to Great Britain. Let me here appeal to the Understanding and Virtue of Mankind, and ask whether this Principle of Equity and Reciprocity would not have been the Principle of all other contracting Powers? A great Sacrifice on the Part of Great Britain, that had given great Alarm, would, without some Stipulation, not have been an Act of *Reciprocity*; it would have been an Act of Partiality, Timidity and Folly in the British Legislature, and of great Injustice to the People of England, who violently opposed so great a Surrender of their Commerce to the Irish Nation.

Although domestic Foes and foreign Enemies took every Opportunity to misrepresent the Intentions of Great Britain towards Ireland with
respect

respect to this *Saving Clause* (which is evidently founded on the purest Principle of Equity and substantial Justice) the Irish, to do them Justice, had no Objection to the *Number* of the Propositions, or to a reasonable Consideration of the Part of Ireland for participating with England the great Blessings of Commerce and national Protection upon Principles of Reciprocity; but they were tenacious of their newly-acquired Independence, and so extremely jealous were they of a System that blended *Commercial* with *legislative* Considerations, that, with the Arts of Misrepresentation, their Passions were raised to such a Height, that they resolved rather to reject the Whole, however good in Principle and immense in Tendency, than admit any Thing that had even the *Color* of a Design against their legislative Independence.

Thus the purest Design, truly liberal on the Part of England and truly glorious for Ireland, (by putting the Irish upon a Footing with this great Commercial and maritime Nation) has been for a Time *set aside* by the natural but extreme Jealousy of the People of Ireland, raised to Fanaticism by the Passions and Party-Tricks of false Friends, leagued against Government and the true Interest of the People, both in Great Britain and Ireland!

As this unnatural and unprofitable Event in Ireland occasions great Exultation on the Part of Opposition on both Sides the Water, it becomes necessary to set the great Body of the People right that they may not be deceived, to their Prejudice, by false Friends and delusive Appearances. The Enemies to the true Interest of Great Britain and Ireland exult in a supposed Defeat of Administration; but I shall shew that they triumph without a Victory, for Mr. ORDE, like an able General, remains Master of the Field.

But admitting the System, contained in the twenty Propositions, should never be heard of again, what will the Irish get by it? Their Affairs will remain in *statu quo*. Is such a Situation of Poverty, without Resources adequate to their Incumbrances, and without a Friend but Great Britain to assist, whose generous and disinterested Friendship they have rejected in a Paroxysm of Folly—I say, is such a distressed and helpless Situation to be envied? Certainly not. They are not to be envied, but they are to be pitied for the Folly with which they resist (as a great Evil, instead of courting as a great national Blessing and an Act of Providence) the propitious Opportunity of emerging from

C

Obscurity

Obscurity to Splendor, and from Distress and Incapacity, to Wealth, Energy, and a respectable Rank among Nations.

Through a mistaken Jealousy of their Legislative Authority (and to be jealous of *Resumption in the Power that gives*, is of all Things the most ridiculous) the Irish have violently, and with a very bad Grace, rejected an Union of Commercial Interest with the greatest trading and maritime Nation in the World, which granted voluntarily, through pure Friendship, more than any other Nation would or could grant them. They complain of their Burthens, their Distress and their want of Assistance, and yet when offered, upon the most liberal Principle, they reject the Loaves and Fishes from the strangest Notions that they are given to deceive and betray them!!!

Is not this an *Iriacism* with a Witness? Why should the Poor, the Weak, and Helpless ask for the fostering Friendship of the Wealthy, the Strong and liberal, if, when generously granted, they reject it with Indignity, and exult in their Folly and Incivility?

What

What Interest can the English have in deceiving and betraying the Irish? Is the Sincerity of Those who give, or Those who receive great Benefits most to be suspected? What have the Irish to boast of, that they should suspect their generous Neighbors and sincere Friends?

Is the Situation of which they complain, and the Assistance they require Objects of Jealousy and Treachery in the most wealthy and powerful commercial and maritime State in the World? Is there a *Color* of Reason for the People of Ireland to suppose that England would grant them, unsolicited, what she would not grant to any other Nation, under the Sun, with a Design to betray them, and without gaining any Advantage by the Treachery? The Idea is truly absurd and illiberal, and ought to be laughed at, was the Subject not too serious for Ridicule.

Can the English, whose national Character is that of Justice and Liberality, be supposed (by any necessary Expression to procure some Compensation for great commercial Sacrifices) to wish for a *Resumption* of legislative Dependence, after so lately, liberally, and fully acknowledging their Independence? Great Britain

could not liberally and unequivocally, with the Faith that marks her national Character, have *recently* acknowledged the one, and in this very Act confirmed it, if she had the most distant Thought of the other; which indeed is so inconsistent, so unnatural, and improbable, as only to be found in Imaginations distempered by Party Passions.

From this true State of the Case the World will judge of the Wisdom or the Folly of the Irish Nation in rejecting, with so little Reason and so bad a Grace, a great national Blessing, which they much want, from the imaginary Fears of weak Minds, and the Misrepresentations of false Friends, who, by their Treachery and Temerity, have destroyed, or, at least, delayed the great Objects of the two Nations to gratify the nefarious Purposes of their own Party.

These public Incendiaries, who are lost to all Sense of Shame, have the astonishing Impudence to rejoice at the supposed Victory of their Party: They glory in their Opposition to Government, and exult in the public Calamity, which their Conduct brings upon the State. But, in the present Case of Ireland, let me ask, in the Language of a political Divine,

Cui

Cui Bono? What will Opposition get by the Event? Certainly nothing. Whatever may be the Disappointment to Ministers, it will positively not be attended with the least Advantage to the Minority; who, therefore, rejoice without a Conquest, and triumph without a Victory.

And what will the Irish gain by rejecting a good Thing, which, in their distressed and helpless Condition, they very much wanted? Where then is the Wisdom and Virtue of such a Conduct? Would they, in the Hour of Fanaticism (I will not say Insolence, as was said on another Occasion) resist their spiritual as they have done their political Salvation? Can their *Cadaverous* Constitution refuse the generous Assistance of an able Physician, without being laughed at by all Europe for Perverseness?

An impoverished Nation, according to their own Account, with *naked* Independence, unable to assist herself, exhibits an unparalleled Instance of Weakness and Folly in rejecting, with the highest Disrespect, and with such Exultation as only becomes Victory and Triumph over natural Enemies, the generous Assistance of a powerful Neighbor who, voluntarily and with uncommon Liberality, offers, upon the purest Principles,

Principles, to share the great Blessings of Commerce and Protection, in order to raise Ireland from Obscurity and Poverty to Wealth, Energy and Rank among Nations.

Does not an insulting Refusal of such an Offer, from a great Nation, (which is manifestly a great Sacrifice on the Part of England) amount to political Insanity? Is Britain, who has much to give by Commerce and Protection, and who offers to share it with Ireland, to be insulted by the Irish who have nothing adequate to give in Return: Is such a Conduct, I say, consistent with the boasted good Sense and liberal Sentiments of the Irish Nation? or rather is it not a Proof of their having departed from their national Character, and sacrificed every glorious Consideration of their Country to the Passions of Individuals, who prefer their own Views to the Interest, the Prosperity, and Energy of the State.

All Europe as well as America must, and with infinite Reason, be astonished to hear that Ireland, in such a State of Poverty, resists the liberal Means of emerging from great Difficulties offered by Great Britain; and they must impute it to the Phrenzy of the Day, and not to Reason and public Virtue; since the Resistance of a commercial System of Friendship
with

with England defeats every glorious Purpose of the Irish Nation, and prevents their emerging from the Dependence of Poverty (which is the most galling Subjection) to that State of Liberty and Independence which Prosperity renders glorious.

Was it not false Policy to reject a System of Commerce offered by a great and liberal Nation, merely because one Part of it was somewhat objectionable? Would it not have been wiser to have purged it of the Bad, and preserved all the Good, for the Credit and Advantage of Ireland? Are the Works of great Masters thrown away through some Imperfections? Are there not little Blemishes in the greatest Beauties? Had not King William, of glorious Memory, some Defect in his Character? Was he not equally the Glory of England and Ireland, with the Imperfections inseparable from human Nature? Although Perfection is not to be found, the Irish expected to find it in a Commercial System offered to them by the English, in which they liberally gave much, and as liberally expected little in Return.

Whatever may be the Imperfection of the System, I am bold to say, without fear of Contradiction,

tradiction, that it militated infinitely more against the Dignity and Interest of England than of Ireland, who had a great deal to gain and nothing to lose commercially, and who had as little to fear politically; since there is not the *Shadow* of Reason to suppose that the English, while they fully acknowledge the Independence of Ireland, and confirm it by the very Act objected to, could wish for a Resumption of legislative Control; a Suspicion the most illiberal and unreasonable in the Irish, for which there absolutely is not the least Ground in the whole Propositions, notwithstanding the Noise that has been made about them.

Neither the *Fourth*, or any other, has the least Tendency to a legislative Power over Ireland, or even to *influence* their Legislature, which, being acknowledged independent and *supreme* in Ireland, is left by Great Britain in the commercial System intirely to its own Wisdom, without interfering with their Constitution. So that all that has been said about the *Fourth* Resolution, as tending to legislate for Ireland, is absolutely erroneous; for as England can have no such Design, so I maintain, against all the silly Declamation of false Patriots, that there absolutely is nothing of a
legislative

legislative Nature, inimical to the Constitution of Ireland, to be found, by fair Construction, in the twenty Propositions.

Those who have strongly maintained the Contrary, argue from their Passions and Prejudices, and not from Reason and Conviction; for I challenge the most violent Man, on either Side the Water, in Opposition to Government, to shew, by a fair Construction, that there is a single Passage, or even a Word, in the whole Propositions, tending to assume a Power of Control over their Legislature, or, in the least, to influence its Authority.

The Charge against the English Nation is absolutely groundless, having not the System of Existence in the Commercial System offered to Ireland. As Great Britain cannot, in the Nature of Things, have any such Idea as legislative Authority over the acknowledged Independence of Ireland, so neither can any Language be used by the British Government of such a Tendency, whatever Construction the Enemies to good Order and to a perfect Harmony between the two Nations may put upon their Words, which, I am confident, have the purest

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Design

Design and the noblest Tendency towards Ireland; Ideas which are inconsistent with every hostile Intention against their Legislature.

As nothing unfriendly could be intended by the most friendly and liberal Act of the British Nation, so I am positive that nothing of the Nature, imputed to the English Ministry by great Declaimers, can be found in the twenty Propositions. It is, therefore, evident, that the very extraordinary Charge of “subverting the Constitution of Ireland,” is groundless and malicious; a Charge which has not been *substantiated*, and of which there is not the least Evidence. The Enemies of Government know this, and therefore they have not attempted to prove it; for the very best Reason, because it is absolutely no where to be found in the whole Commercial System offered by Mr. ORDE, who is an able and perfect honest Man, incapable of being made the Instrument of Deceit and Treachery, to promote any Purpose whatsoever.

Opposition in Ireland have carried their Point by *Storm*. They have stormed the Passions and stunned the Public, but they have not convinced
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the Understanding nor gained a Victory; for they had nothing to overthrow but—the Interest and Glory of their Country, which Mr. ORDE has had the Generalship to preserve, by a *Truce* with the Passions of false Patriots, who have the Modesty to think they have fought a Battle with Valor, and made a Conquest by resisting a great Commercial Offer of Great Britain, to raise their Country from Poverty and Debts to Wealth and Glory!! Such is the *Battle* they have fought against the Interest and Prosperity of their Country! Such the *Valor* of these Heroes! And such the *Conquest* of which these Incendiaries boast!

Time will shew what Sort of *Triumph* is allotted by their deluded Country to these mighty Men of WORDS; who, with a Torrent of the human Passions, like the Overflowing of Rivers that wash away the Farmer's Toil and sterilize the Land, have overwhelmed Ireland. They knew that the pretended Charge against Great Britain was groundless, and only a Trick of Party to hoodwink the People, and therefore they would not risk the Credit of their Popularity by an Enquiry into the *Truth*, which would have exposed their Principles and have defeated their Purposes, which were to raise their Reputa-

tions with the deluded People, at the Expence of Administration in England.

But admitting, for a Moment, that the Cause of Discontent was just, and the Ground of Opposition right, still a Commercial Offer of so much Consequence, from a powerful Nation, was intitled to more Temper and Civility. The worst that can be said of it is, that it contained a great Deal of Good *commercially*, with something to be objected to *legislatively*; not, I am confident, as the Principle but as the Language of the Act. To reject, therefore, the good Consequences for fear of the bad, and to refuse a positive Blessing of great Value for fear of an imaginary Evil, is the Policy of weak and contracted Minds.

When Reason prevails over Sophistry, and Party-Passions, which disgrace Ireland, subside, the Irish will be ashamed of their Prejudices and their Folly, and then they will blush to find that, through the Tricks of Party and the Arts of false Friends, they have given all Europe and America Occasion to laugh at them, for resisting a liberal Commercial System, offered for
their

their Prosperity and Protection by the greatest trading Nation in the World.

While good Men, in both Nations, lament the Party-Prejudices and Folly of the Irish, in rejecting real and great commercial Benefits from imaginary legislative Evils, (which absolutely are not in the Nature of Things) Men in Opposition, who have brought this Disgrace on Ireland, exult in the extraordinary Event; but I am happy to say, they boast of a Victory that will not be of the least Advantage to their Party.

While public Incendiaries who, like *Nero*, rejoice in the Confusion and Calamity of the State, the real Friends of both Countries are concerned for the Rashness of the human Passions which often, as in the present Case, pervert the purest Designs and defeat the noblest Purposes; sacrificing every public Consideration to gratify the Views of Party-Men, who rejoice in the Disappointment, the Confusion, and Calamity which their Combination, like *Cataline's Conspiracy*, brings upon their Country, because it gives them a Prospect of being benefitted by the general Confusion.

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But, whatever Party-Men may think of the Disappointment of the Executive Power, they will do well to remember, that Nothing is lost to Great Britain but the Opportunity of doing a most essential Service to Ireland; Nothing acquired by Ireland but the Folly and Disgrace of opposing a glorious Design to improve their Commerce through the Friendship, Liberality, and Protection of England, and to make them (who now complain of national Distress and Incapacity) happy, great and flourishing; an Event that evidently depends more on Great Britain than on their own Situation, which is, comparatively, naked, and on their Ability, which is certainly impotent.

Ireland (so soon ungrateful for her Emancipation, which was an Act of Liberality in Great Britain) may rejoice at her *naked* Independence; but what will be her Wealth, her Strength and Rank among Nations, without the Friendship and Energy of Great Britain? It is true, she has a distinct Constitution and a separate Legislature; but—*Cui Bono?* What is Liberty in its Infancy? What is a *Skeleton* Nation, burthened with Incumbrances and inadequate Resources, but a *Cadaverous* Constitution, that requires

quires the Assistance of its vigorous Neighbor to nourish it with the fostering Hand of generous Friendship?

Let the Irish, in the Hour of serious Reflection, be ashamed of what they have rashly done, and blush at what they have perversely left undone; for which there is still a Remedy left, by the Address of Mr. ORDE in procuring a Suspension, and in the Liberality of the English in imputing what has passed to its true Cause, and in purging a Commercial System of Legislative Considerations, with which it was necessarily blended.

In the mean Time the Triumph of the People of Ireland is as ridiculous as any Thing in the Works of Cervantes, it is exulting in their own Weakness and rejoicing in their own Folly, which is the Condition of Fanaticism, and not of public Spirit and generous Patriotism.

And as to the Opposition in England, those false Patriots who have raised the Laugh against the credulous Irish, and who have filled inflammatory News-Papers with the *Splendor* of their Conduct and the *Glory* of their Success, they
triumph

triumph without a Victory; for it is evident, to even a common Capacity, that the Impolicy of Ireland cannot, in the least, affect the Stability of the English or Irish Administrations; and therefore Men in Opposition will meet, as they deserve, with the most mortifying Disappointment; with which, as a Friend to the People, I take the earliest Opportunity to inform the Public, that they may not get Credit with their *Taylors* upon the Strength of this imaginary Victory and their coming into Power, which, though so much dreamt of by Party, is absolutely farther from Probability than ever; for there is now every Reason to believe that, whatever Measures may be pursued for the Salvation of Ireland, *they* will never re-enter the political *Cælum*.

Should the Irish continue in the same Humor against their true Interest and their best Friend, and if they will not enter into a Commercial Connection with Great Britain, what *will* they do, what *can* they do with their *naked* Independence? Can they be connected Commercially with other Nations, consistent with their Subjection to the Sovereignty? Certainly not. Their Condition then, through mistaken Notions of Patriotism

Patriotism and imaginary Fears of the Treachery of a liberal Friend, who has much to give and little to gain by Ireland, is a Condition that would deserve the Pity of a generous and insulted Nation, did not the Rashness of false Friends, who exult in having brought their Country into such a Situation, merit public Contempt and Execration. An impoverished and helpless Nation, drunk with the Nectar of Independence, naked and starving, refuses the Loaves and Fishes of a generous Neighbor! To what are such head-strong Passions imputable? Not to the People of Ireland, who are sensible, virtuous and grateful, who know and pursue their true Interest; but to the Party-Tricks of designing Patriots, who, like Incendiaries, create Confusion, that they may be benefitted by public Calamity.

Acknowledging, with Pleasure, that there is great Wisdom and Virtue in the Body of the People of Ireland; so when Party-Passions, raised by the Arts of false Patriots, subside, it should be supposed, for the Credit of their Understanding, that the good Humor of the Irish will return, and that a Sense of their true Interest, and a just Estimation of the Friendship of

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England, will make them ashamed that they have, in a Paroxysm of Fanaticism, rejected the liberal Offers of Great Britain to grant them more than they ever required, and more than they can ever expect from any other Nation. Let us, as true Friends, liberally suppose, that Conviction will not, like a Death-bed Repentance, come too late; and that sacred Truth and public Virtue will soon triumph over the Declamation and Sophistry of designing Individuals, who misrepresent great Blessings and magnify imaginary Evils, to create public Confusion.

While Passions, raised by the Fuel of Party (which is like a Fire of Straw) subside, and the Nation returns to its sterling Sense and old good Humor, the British Ministry, with a Greatness of Soul peculiar to Mr. PITT and his Friends, lament the astonishing Credulity of the People of Ireland, (for whom they have the best Wishes and the purest Designs) while they laugh heartily at the Folly and Temerity of Opposition, who, like *Nero*, rejoice in National Confusion and Mischief, which they think is calculated to promote the Purposes of their own Party.

VERIDICUS.

The 22d August, 1785.

POSTSCRIPT.

AS the STRENGTH of Opposition in Ireland consists in the Opinions of Mr. Grattan and Mr. Flood, it may be necessary to take particular Notice of what those popular Orators have said, and to place their Conduct and Characters in a true Light, for the serious Consideration of both Nations.

The Difference in the Abilities and Sentiments of these Leaders of Opposition in Ireland, is indeed very great. With different Capacities and Principles, they see Things in a different Light. This Reason, and a Jealousy of popular Fame, had set them long at Variance; and although there is not, at present, the same personal Vehemence and national Difference of Dispute, it is easy to discover that they are not hearty Friends in private, nor actuated by the same Motives in public.

The Understanding of Mr. Grattan is amazingly strong and equally comprehensive. His Sentiments seem to be inspired by a Love to his Country. His Principles are noble. His Language nervous and brilliant. His Points striking. His Ideas and Language warm the Imagination. And his Conduct, in the Midst of an enthusiastic Zeal, that would do Honor to a Sydney or a Chatham, is liberal in regard to the Duke of RUTLAND and Mr. Secretary ORDE, to both of whom he has paid the handsomest Compliments, and liberally shewn the Respect due to so great a Commercial Nation as Great Britain. In a few Words, Mr. GRATTAN appears, by the Whole of his Language, and the Temper and Manliness of his Conduct, to be inspired by sacred Truth and animated by public Virtue. If, upon such an Occasion, he speaks with excess of Ardor, we should liberally impute it to its true Cause—not to the Party Passions and Prejudices of contracted Minds, but to the *Amor Patriæ*, being naturally prepossessed, as an Irishman, in Favor of *his* Country, as the immortal Sydney and the illustrious Chatham were in Favor of England, *their* Country.

Mr. GRATTAN speaks with a perfect Knowledge of the Subject, and of the true Interest of his Country; but although he speaks with great Animation, he has all the Sweetness and Profusion of Tully, without the Violence of Mr. Fox. The Ideas of the English Orator flow rapidly, but, as they arise from Party and Personal Motives more than from Public Virtue, he is extremely vehement, and has a Torrent of Language which is like the overflowing of Rivers, that wash away the Farmer's Toil and sterilize the Land. The Irish Orator does not speak with the same Vehemence but with more useful Knowledge, with greater Judgement, and with more persuasive Eloquence. The Eloquence of Mr. Grattan is like the Inundation of the *Nile*, which enriches and fertilizes the Land. He is Master of the Subject, which he manages with great Energy and Temper, and as he speaks the Language of the Heart, appealing to the Understanding, and not to the Passions and Prejudices of the Nation, his Oratory produces a wonderful Effect. The impression is lasting, while the Appeal of Mr. Fox and Mr. Flood to the Passions is soon forgotten. Whilst his Conduct, which discovers great Generalship, commands Attention and Respect,

Respect, his Sentiments and Language carry Conviction. Mr. Grattan speaks to the Heart, Mr. Fox and Mr. Flood to the Passions and Prejudices of the People: The former convinces our Understanding, the latter misleads our Judgement.

Mr. Flood is a very different Character to Mr. Grattan: As different, perhaps, as the Poles are opposite. Although they are, at present, on the same Side, there is a wide Difference in their Sentiments and Abilities, and, perhaps, in their Cordiality. I take one to be a perfect honest Man, speaking freely his Sentiments from the purest Motives, without a Tincture of Malice, or the least Personal or Party Prejudice. The other an artful Man, with Talents and Principles of a different Sort; calculated to inflame the Mind more than to convince it, and to widen the Breach more than to heal the Wound between two spirited Nations.

It appears to me that Mr. Grattan is a great Orator, from the purest Patriotism, and that Mr. Flood is a rapid Speaker, more calculated to promote the Designs of Party, than the glorious

rious Purposes of national Union and public Felicity.

The Conduct of Mr. Grattan has been calm, respectful and convincing; that of Mr. Flood violent, illiberal and erroneous. His *Constitutional* Motion, to perplex Mr. ORDE, discovered strong Passions and great Ignorance. Had it been well founded, it was not in the Power of the Right Honorable Secretary to admit such a Declaration on the Part of Great Britain, without the Knowledge and Authority of the British Legislature. But it was ill founded and totally unnecessary: for the Acknowledgement and Confirmation of Independence, on the Part of Great Britain, amounts to every Thing Mr. Flood could mean by his *Constitutional* Motion; which was, therefore, Unconstitutional, by doubting their Independence, which, after an Acknowledgement and Confirmation, should never be brought into Dispute.

The whole of Mr. Flood's Conduct in Ireland, like that of Mr. Fox in England, discovers so much Violence and Prejudice, and so little Regard to the great Objects of the Nation, that I shall leave him and return to Mr. Grattan,
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of whose Talents, Principles and Moderation I have the highest Opinion. He is really an able Man, and a Statesman of the finest Sentiments and the noblest Exertions. He does not inflame like Mr. Flood and Mr. Fox, but he convinces like Lord Chatham. He has powerful Talents, just Principles, great Temper, and infinite Judgement; all which great Qualities of the Orator and the Statesman, are wanting to Mr. Flood in Ireland and Mr. Fox in England.

Mr. Grattan was, on a former Occasion, extremely temperate, which prevented the Storm that the Passions of Party, in both Kingdoms, had raised. He convinced his Country of what was in its Nature just, and in its Tendency reasonable; and the People were satisfied, through his Moderation and Candor. Mr. Grattan was happily the Mediator between England and Ireland, and the true Friend of both Nations. May he prove the same candid and moderate Man on the present Occasion, which I think he has given every Reason to expect, by discovering a sound Understanding and great Temper.

While the Passions of Mr. Flood are extremely hostile, and tend to separate the two Kingdoms,
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the Temper of Mr. Grattan is conciliating, and discovers a wish to unite them *commercially*, whilst he separates their Constitutional and *Legislative* Authorities, which, as independent Nations, equally Sovereign and Supreme, should be totally distinct, the one not interfering with the other to create the Shadow of Jealousy.

I really believe Mr. Grattan and the British and Irish Administrations act equally from the purest Motives; and that their Sentiments of the *Independence of Ireland, and a Commercial Union* with Great Britain are exactly the same, and only want to be explained and understood. And I am confident that the Temper and Candor of Mr. Grattan will, by the Delay procured by Mr. Orde, promote that Explanation and Conviction.

Mr. Grattan's masterly and temperate Conduct, on this and former Occasions, gives every Reason to believe that his Designs are pure towards Ireland, and liberal towards Great Britain, founded on a System of sound Policy, to unite them in Bonds of Affection and indissoluble Friendship, in order to render Ireland a flourishing and happy Nation, by a free Parliament and a prosperous Commerce.

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I hope

I hope I shall not be a false Prophet, but that Mr. Grattan (of whose Fame Mr. Flood and Mr. Fox are very jealous) will, with the Sweetness and Profusion of Tully, convince his Country that Great Britain, by a System of Commerce, (divested of every legislative Consideration) wishing, for ever, to be united in perfect Friendship with Ireland, has totally renounced all *national* Authority of every Description, and having abandoned every Idea of Control and Influence, cannot, in the Nature of Things, possibly *resume* it—that the Independence of their Country is acknowledged and confirmed, which renders Ireland a free, independent, Sovereign and *foreign* State as effectually as Great Britain; and that, to raise Ireland from her present Debts and inadequate Resources, to Wealth and to rank among Nations, the Legislature of Great Britain offers (not *imposes*) a liberal System of Commerce to divide the great Blessings of Trade, Navigation and Protection with this great trading and maritime Nation, upon Principles of *Reciprocity*; that is, not for any specific Consideration, (which should be left to the Liberality of the People of Ireland) or, for any legislative Sacrifice, but for mutual Convenience. A System that confirms their legislative Rights, and promotes their commercial

mercial Prosperity, whilst the *Union*, founded on Commerce, strengthens their Affection and Friendship, and promotes *eventually* (by its Operation and Effects) the political Interest of Great Britain, by keeping Ireland out of the Scale of France and the rest of her natural Enemies, which is an Object more important to England, and less degrading to Ireland than any specific pecuniary Consideration, as a Compensation.

I think it is necessary to the Importance of the present CRISIS to repeat that I have the greatest Confidence in the Purity of Mr. Grattan's Sentiments, and the Manliness and Utility of his Conduct on the present Occasion, of which his former temperate Conduct is a noble Pledge, and I prophesy that this happy Temper of CONCILIATION will be the great Line of his Conduct, which will then intitle Him to the glorious Distinction of being the Sydney or Chatham of the Age, the Savior of his Country from Violence and Precipitancy, and the Friend of Great Britain from the purest Motives of public Virtue and sound Policy.

In one Thing, however, I differ essentially with this great Orator—"Let me ask, says Mr. Grattan,

“ what Right has one Nation to say to another,
 “ Thus far you shall trade and no further.
 “ The Command is like a Judgement of God.”
 I answer: An independent Nation has certainly
 a Right to a *free Trade*; but every Nation has
 a Right to say, “ You shall trade no further
 “ with my Subjects.” All Nations are subject
 to this Preclusion, but upon Terms of Reciprocity or mutual Convenience. This is the great Law of Nations and the Practice of all civilized States, to preserve the exclusive Rights of their own Subjects within their own Dominions. In this single Instance, therefore, Mr. Grattan shews himself a greater Orator than a Statesman.

With this very favorable Idea of Mr. Grattan I shall be happy to find that an able Administration has the Sagacity, without Delay, to make a Friend of Him, whose Interest is great, and whose Influence co-operating with his Majesty's Ministers for the reciprocal Security and Prosperity of Great Britain and Ireland, must have the happiest Effect in favor of both, to establish that sincere and permanent *Union*, which is absolutely necessary for the general Welfare of the two Nations; a great and desirable Event which

domestic

domestic Foes and foreign Enemies, in both Countries, unite their Endeavors to prevent.

This glorious Attempt at an *Union* with Ireland, that shall have “ Immenfity for its “ Space, and Eternity for its Duration,” will bring about the fullest and clearest Renunciation of *national* Control, and an Acknowledgement, that Ireland “ is a free Nation, totally “ independent, Sovereign and *Supreme* in the “ Kingdom of Ireland, and a *Foreign* State, “ having a Constitution and Legislature of her “ own, which fubjects the People of Ireland “ only to the Monarch on the British Throne, “ not as Sovereign of Great Britain, but as “ King of Ireland; fo that Great Britain has “ no more Control, than France or Spain, “ over the Constitutional Authorities, that is, “ the legislative, judicial and executive Powers “ of Ireland.”

This happy State of Independence and Liberty, being fully declared and perfectly understood, there cannot be a doubt of the People of Ireland being thoroughly fatisfied, and relieved intirely of the Fears that now unhappily alarm them; which arife from an ill grounded
Jealousy

Jealousy of the Independence they have lately acquired, and which they wisely wish to preserve unviolated, as the greatest Blessing of Society.

What has happened, through a Torrent of national Prepossession and Party-Prejudice and the Overflowing of the human Passions, appears to me not to be the Result of national Duplicity and Treachery in the People of one Country, or Perverseness in the other, but the uncommon Effect of great Jealousy and Misunderstanding; and as I am confident of the upright Intentions of Mr. PITT's Administration on one Side the Water, and of the Duke of RUTLAND's on the other, and as I have also the highest Opinion of the Capacity and patriotic Principles of Mr. Secretary ORDE, so there is every Reason to believe that the *Suspension* of the Business will bring about a satisfactory Explanation, and a full Conviction of the liberal Designs of Great Britain to establish “ the legislative Independence and “ the commercial Prosperity of Ireland,” upon the firmest Basis, by a Commercial *Union*, not a Legislative one, like that of Scotland, which is a State of Subjection, Poverty and Disgrace.

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When this is happily done, through the sterling Sense and distinguished Virtue of Administration, assisted by such able and sincere Patriots as Mr. Grattan, the People of Ireland will be sovereign and supreme in that Kingdom, and take their “ Rank among “ Nations” as a free and *foreign* State; which, through the Friendship of Great Britain, to promote their Commercial Interest, will soon become very respectable.

Then the Irish, who are a sensible and spirited Nation, will naturally turn their Thoughts to such internal Regulations as shall convince Europe that they know how to govern, and to render their Subjects industrious, wealthy and happy. They will improve their National *Resources*, and provide for their *Debts* to promote *Public Credit*, which is the Soul of a manufacturing and trading State.

They will wisely attend to the *Pension* List, that Badge of Vassalage, so incompatible with their Independence. When Ireland was a Province of Great Britain, she was obliged to submit to whatever was imposed by the Wisdom or Caprice of the controlling Power, by which
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the Irish have so long been shackled. Hence the shameful and disgraceful Pension List! No Pensions on the Irish Establishment, but those of the Royal Family, should be admitted; except in Favor of such Persons as have rendered essential Service to *that* insulted Country, so much oppressed by the wretched Policy of almost every former Administration, but the glorious one of the Earl, now Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND, which will ever endear that liberal-minded and excellent Nobleman to the spirited and grateful People of Ireland, who, with the best Capacity and heroic Sentiments, manfully oppose their worst Enemies, but ever revere the sacred Name of their best Friends.

Men who have rendered Service to Great Britain, should be placed upon the English Establishment. For Irishmen to be burthened to pay English Merit, or English Caprice and Folly, is a great Instance of Injustice, and a gross Insult to the People of Ireland, who being no longer a Province of Great Britain, should no longer submit to such provincial Acts of Oppression. The Pension List of Ireland should be reformed, and all Claimants that have not Irish Merit should be rejected,
and

and left to seek an Asylum on the English Pension List.

The next Consideration of Œconomy and Finance should be an *Absentee Tax*, which will have the happiest Effect, directly and indirectly: Directly, by raising a large Sum for the public Use; and indirectly, by the Money circulating to encourage Industry. Although it seems to be of the Nature of free States to suffer their Subjects to spend their Property where they please; yet every Man should have a Predilection for his own Country, and those who prefer other Nations should be obliged, by an *Absentee Tax*, to contribute to the public Welfare, in Return for the Blessings he receives from his Country. The Subjects of Ireland should either spend their Estates in their own Country, or be taxed handsomely for spending them abroad; enriching other Countries and impoverishing their own, by draining Ireland of its Specie, which is the Soul of Industry, and the Nerves of a manufacturing State.

In fixing upon a permanent System to bind Great Britain and Ireland, some Men are sanguine for a legislative *Union*, like that of Scotland.

land; but they are shallow Politicians, and as weak or *treacherous* as those who sacrificed every Thing noble, every Thing dear to the Scotch, to be in a State of Subjection to the English. I hold up both my Hands against it, which I call a *horrid Design*, either of weak or traiterous Statesmen, and a gross Insult to the Understanding and Virtue of the People of Ireland, after the Effect it has produced in Scotland. To attempt it would, therefore, be the greatest Folly in the English, because it would be rejected with the greatest Indignity by the Irish, as we find by what has lately been thrown out. The Irish, with the Fate of Scotland before their Eyes, struggling ineffectually with the Fetters of Subjection to recover her Liberty and Independence, have too much Sense to surrender, as the Scots have done, through the Treachery of some Men, their glorious Constitution and Legislative Independence, and the Dignity and Blessings of a free State, to be in Subjection, like Scotland; which has produced Disgrace and Beggary, and will occasion endless Dissatisfactions, and perhaps an Attempt, on the Part of Scotland, to shake off the Fetters of Subjection to which they were betrayed,

betrayed, and to recover their glorious Constitution and sacred Liberty.

But since the Government of the *two* free States, equally independent and supreme, under *one* Sovereign, must necessarily create Confusion and Jealousy from the Executive Power of the Sovereign, who resides in England, and who delegates *his* Ministers to Ireland, Natives of Great Britain, and attached, from natural Predilection, to their own Country, there seems to be a Necessity to remove, as much as possible, the Cause of Jealousy and Partiality between the English and Irish; that their Friendship may be sincere, their Confidence great, and their Harmony uninterrupted.

An English-Irish Administration is an Absurdity in Terms. An Englishman, with a Predilection for Great Britain, attached to Ireland, is equally preposterous. And since Great Britain would not receive Ministers from Ireland, attached to that Country, was the Sovereign to reside in that Kingdom, why should Ireland receive them from England?

And as the Subjection of two free States to the same Sovereign, seems to perpetuate this Absurdity, and throw the Weight of Influence and national Control (incompatible with Independence and national Prosperity) into the most favored Nation, where the Sovereign resides; so great an Object, subversive of Liberty, of national Dignity and Energy, requires the most serious Consideration of the People of Ireland, at this Period so favorable to political Justice and sound Policy.

Shallow Politicians think that a legislative *Union*, like that of Scotland, would put an End to all Jealousy between the English and Irish; and so indeed it would, in one Sense, by *absorbing* the Legislature of Ireland, and reducing the Irish, like the Scots, to a worse State of Subjection than that from which their glorious Struggles have lately emancipated them. After such an Event, which does them so much Honor, from the *Virtue* of the Principle and the *Wisdom* of the Acquisition, without the Horrors of either Civil or Foreign War; can it be supposed that the People of Ireland would be so sottish as to offer again their Necks for the Yoke of Subjection, and their Hands for the

the Fetters of English Control? Such a dastardly and humiliating Idea is such an Insult to the Irish Nation, as impeaches their Understanding and their public Virtue, and classes them with the Men who, for private Gratifications, betrayed Scotland. Ireland is now what Scotland was before the Union. Let the Irish look at the Scots, laugh at their Folly, and pity the unhappy Effects of Vassalage entailed on that Country by domestic Traitors.

Two *supreme* Legislatures subject to one Sovereign, must necessarily create endless Jealousies. Ireland can never be more than *nominally* free with an English Executive Power, which is the strongest Instance of foreign Supremacy and national Control, the unhappy Effects of which cannot be done away by any Recognition of Independence. *Words* declaratory of Emancipation and Independence tend to amuse the deluded People, while *Acts* of a foreign Government have all the Effect of national Control and foreign Supremacy. To prevent this (which is the greatest of all possible Absurdities and the worst of all Calamities to a free State) with the very best Grace, at this propitious Period, sacred to Liberty and to Fame, and to preserve the Dignity

nity of Ireland with the Friendship of England, let the Irish have a Monarch to reside among them. A glorious Event that warms the Imagination, as it will render an English *Lieutenancy* unnecessary, and raise Ireland to true Liberty, to Wealth and to a respectable Rank among Nations! The Election of a King of the illustrious House of Hanover, would be an Act of great Spirit and sound Policy, worthy of the Irish Nation, at this happy Period, in which they gloriously struggle for Liberty and for Fame.

Prince WILLIAM HENRY, third Son of our amiable Sovereign, would, by his Residence, endear himself to the spirited and liberal People of Ireland, and by the Choice of native Ministers, of local Knowledge, with a Predilection for their own Country, would render the Irish Nation what it ought to be, and what it struggles to be—
 “ an independent and flourishing trading State,
 “ holding a respectable Rank among Nations.”

As nothing can be so conducive to the Dignity and Prosperity of any Nation, especially a manufacturing and trading insular State, as a *resident* King, so nothing can be so unfortunate

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nate for such a Nation, just emerging from Subjection, Debts and Difficulties, as an absent or *non-resident* Sovereign; who, by residing constantly in a foreign State, has necessarily a Predilection for it, and throws the Advantages and the national Credit into the Scale of that favored Nation, notwithstanding any Declarations of *Reciprocity*; it not being possible for the best Princes, or the wisest Ministers (much less weak Princes and worthless Minions) under such Circumstances of Power and Rivalship, to preserve a nice *Equilibrium* in the Scale of national Events, equally satisfactory, under the same Sovereign.

The fostering Hand of a resident Monarch is known only to able Politicians, who can conceive what Happiness the People feel, what Advantages they derive, and what Blessings they enjoy from the Presence of their Sovereign; and, *vice versa*, what Indignity and Injustice they suffer, what Advantages they lose, and what Blessings they are deprived of from his continual Absence.

Sensible of this, the present King of Spain resigned the Crown of Naples to his *third* Son;
and

and the Emperor of Germany relinquished the Grand Duchy of Tuscany to his Brother, whose Residence has rescued that Country from Neglect and Poverty, and raised it to Dignity, to Wealth and Splendor.

That happy Day in which (after these wise Examples) the British Monarch shall resign his Royal Pretensions, in Favor of his Son Prince WILLIAM HENRY, to the IMPERIAL DIADEM of Ireland, and the People of Ireland receive that amiable and spirited Prince as their Sovereign, that great, that glorious Day, will be *a proud Day* for Ireland.

Then the People of Ireland will have real instead of nominal and imaginary Independence, which is like the "baseless Fabric of a Vision." A Shadow without the Substance. Then Ireland, realizing her Independence, will be a free, sovereign, supreme, and *foreign* State, as effectually as Great Britain, or any other Nation whatever.

Then commercial and political Alliances will be made, and the Affection and true Interest of the two Nations, and the Consanguinity of
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the Sovereigns of England and Ireland (like Spain and Naples) will bind them in Bonds of indissoluble Friendship; which happy UNION will, from the Virtue and Wisdom of both Nations, have “Immensify for its Space and “Eternity for its Duration.” Words of Mr. GRATTAN, which, thus applied, should be written in Characters of Gold, to perpetuate the glorious Event, and to immortalize his sacred Name.

VERIDICUS.

F I N I S.



1890

The following are the names of the persons who have been appointed as members of the committee:

Mr. J. H. [illegible]
Mr. [illegible]
Mr. [illegible]
Mr. [illegible]
Mr. [illegible]

the subject of the case, and to the fact that the

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